

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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ACDA-05 IO-10 AID-05 SAM-01 /076 W

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R 290900Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7846

INFO /AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 5052

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 5060

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ID RP US

SUBJECT: ASEAN AND U.S. BASES

REF: A. MANILA 5449 B. JAKARTA 4943

1. SUMMARY: DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY INDONESIAN MILITARY OFFICIALS REVEAL SOME SENTIMENT FOR ASEAN DISCUSSION OF PHILIPPINE BASE PROBLEM AND SOME LACK AWARENESS IMPORTANCE THESE BASES TO TOTAL U.S. PRESENCE. MATTER WILL REQUIRE FURTHER DISCREET EDUCATION HERE, BUT WHAT PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT SAYS TO GOI MAY IN LAST ANALYSIS BE MOST IMPORTANT. END SUMMARY

2. IN ABSENCE FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK WHO IS IN MEDAN ON FAMILY MATTER, I HAVE BEEN SEIZING OCCASION MEETINGS WITH KEY INDONESIAN MILITARY OFFICIALS TO URGE THAT GOI NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN PHILIPPINE BASE ISSUE.

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3. ON APRIL 27, I SPOKE WITH MAJAO GENERAL MURDANI OF

MINISTRY DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE, MAKING POINTS PROPOSED IN REFERENCE B. MURDANI IS, IN ABSENCE GENERAL YOGA AND GENERAL MURTOPO, SENIOR INTELLIGENCE OFFICER AND FREQUENTLY BRIEFS PRESIDENT SUHARTO. HE UNDERSTOOD POINT AND ADDED, "MALIK IS AN OLD MAN."

4. COURTESY CALLS WITH GENERAL SMART OF NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE APRIL 29 ENABLED ME TO RAISE QUESTION WITH TWO OTHER KEY MILITARY OFFICERS IN INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT. THESE OFFICIALS LESS CLEAR THAN MURDANI; I HAVE IMPRESSION THAT INDONESIAN TEMPTATION TO WRITE OFF PHILIPPINE BASES MAY GO BEYOND FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK.

5. LT. GENERAL ASHARI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF FOREIGN DEPARTMENT (NO. 2 IN FOREIGN OFFICE), IN RESPONSE TO OPENING QUESTION ON WHAT INDONESIA LIKELY TO EXPECT OF U.S. IN POST-VIETNAM PERIOD, SAID INDONESIA WOULD LIKE TO SEE U.S. ROLE IN RECONSTRUCTION OF INDOCHINA SO THAT TASK IS NOT LEFT WHOLLY TO RUSSIANS. I VENTURED THAT U.S. CONGRESSLESS LIKELY BE INTERESTED IN RECONSTRUCTING INDOCHINA THAN IN HELP TO OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS OF SOUTHEASTASIA. WHAT U.S. LIKELY TO DO DEPENDS IN PART ON REACTION OF NATIONS IN AREA. IF THEY DEMAND WITHDRAWAL, MANY ELEMENTS IN U.S. TIRED OF ASIAN INVOLVEMENT, MAY RESPOND. THIS WAS CRITICAL TIME WHEN WE HOPE OUR FRIENDS WOULD GIVE US TIME TO SORT THINGS OUT. I MENTIONED MALIK STATEMENT ON BASES IN PHILIPPINES AND SAID THIS WAS MATTER OF SOME CONCERN SINCE U.S. AND PHILIPPINES IN CONSULTATION THIS MATTER AND SUCH BASES IMPORTANT TO CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE. THIS IS FURTHER ESSENTIALLY BILATERAL QUESTION. STATEMENTS BY OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES OR BY ASEAN ITSELF NOT LIKELY BE HELPFUL. ON BASIS REPORTING FROM OUR EMBASSY IN MANILA, I BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT NOT TO ASSUME PRESIDENT MARCOS WISHES BASES TO GO.

7. GENERAL ASHARI COMMENTED THAT FOREIGN TROOPS IN ASEAN COUNTRIES DO PRESENT POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND THAT, PERHAPS, U.S. PRESENCE SHOULD BE CONFINED TO SEA PRESENCE. WE POINTED OUT NAVAL FORCES CANNOT OPERATE WITHOUT BASES
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AND PHILIPPINE BASES IMPORTANT TO OUR TOTAL PRESENCE. RUSSIANS HAVE BASES IN VLADIVOSTOK AND GIVEN THEIR GEOGRAPHY, ARE NOT LIKELY TO LEAVE THIS AREA. GENERAL ASHARI CONCLUDED BY COMMENTING THAT ANY ASEAN DISCUSSION OF PHILIPPINE BASES WOULD BE CLOSED AND THAT GOP WOULD HAVE CLEAR OPPORTUNITY GIVE OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES ITS POSITION.

7. SECOND CALL WAS ON GENERAL SURONO, DEPUTY COMMANDER IN CHIEF, ARMED FORCES. LT GENERAL SAYIDIMAN OF PEMHANNAS (EQUIVALENT OF NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE) WAS ALSO PRESENT. WHEN BASE QUESTION CAME UP, GENERAL SAYIDIMAN REPEATED THAT BASES COULD BECOME DIFFICULT POLITICAL QUESTION. I REPEATED ARGUMENTS STRESSING THAT THIS WAS MATTER BETWEEN U.S. AND PHILIPPINES, THAT MAKING ISSUE PUBLIC WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL TO WHAT GOP WISHES TO DO AND THAT OUR FRIENDS IN AREA, IF THEY WISHED U.S. PRESENCE, CANNOT SEEK REMOVAL OF INSTALLATIONS IMPORTANT TO THAT PRESENCE. GENERAL SAYIDIMAN REPLIED THAT IT WAS PRINCIPLE OF ASEAN COUNTRIES NOT TO INTERFERE IN AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. GENERAL SURANO REINFORCED THIS BY STATING THAT HE REGARDED THIS CLEARLY AS MATTER BETWEEN PHILIPPINES AND U.S. GENERAL SAYIDIMAN THEN ASKED WHETHER WE COUNTED THAI AND PHILIPPINE BASES IN SAME CATEGORY. I SAID THAI BASE SITUATION DIFFERENT AND DISCUSSIONS ALREADY UNDER WAY REGARDING POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL. PHILIPPINE RELATIONSHIP WAS MORE FUNDAMENTAL AND BASES WERE PART OF TREATY RELATIONSHIP.

8. COMMENT: I AGREE WITH REF A THAT DIRECT APPROACH TO MALIK NOT DESIRABLE. I HAD PLANNED SEE HIM ANOTHER MATTERS (VIETNAM REFUGEES, LOAN SIGNING) AND RAISE BASE QUESTION INCIDENTALLY. I WILL STILL DO SO WHEN HE RETURNS. I BELIEVE INTERVENTION WITH MILITARY OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, LIKELY BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN GOVERNING GOI POSITION. I ALSO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THERE IS TEMPTATION USE THIS FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES AND THAT OPINION OF PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT WILL BE CRITICAL. SUGGEST, IN ADDITION REPRESENTATIONS WE MAKE HERE, AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN MIGHT WISH PRESIDENT MARCOS SEND PRIVATE COMMUNICATION TO PRESIDENT SUHARTO. IN ANY EVENT, MOST WE CAN ACCOMPLISH IS TO

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SILENCE GOI ON THIS ISSUE; I DOUBT ANYONE IS GOING PUBLICLY TO REVERSE FOREIGN MINISTER, EVEN IF HE IS "OLD MAN."
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